

Message Text

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EXDIS MILITARY HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

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S E C R E T ANKARA 4981

EXDIS - MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, NATO, TU, GR

SUBJECT: GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO

REF: ANKARA 4879 (DTG 030815Z JUL 78)

1. ON JULY 6, ACTING CHIEF OF EMBASSY'S MUTUAL SECURITY
AFFAIRS SECTION MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY DIRECTOR OF NATO
AFFAIRS (ALI HIKMET ALP) ON SUBJECT OF GREEK REINTEGRATION
INTO NATO. ALP INVITED EMBOFF TO MINISTRY AS FOLLOW-UP TO
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AMBASSADOR'S DISCUSSION WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AND
FOREIGN MINISTER OKCUN PER PARAS 7 AND 8 REFTTEL. ALP BEGAN
BY SAYING THAT ECEVIT AND OKCUN WERE "VERY SURPRISED" THAT
USG RAISED THE MATTER OF GREEK REINTEGRATION AT THIS TIME,
ESPECIALLY WHEN OTHER AND MORE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS SUCH AS
VAROSHA AND THE ARMS EMBARGO WERE BEING DISCUSSED. ALSO, ALP
NOTED THAT THE PROCESSES IN NATO REGARDING GREEK

REINTEGRATION "HAD NOT GONE FAR ENOUGH" AND, THUS, THE U.S. INITIATIVE IN THE ECEVIT MEETING WAS PERHAPS PREMATURE.

2. EMBOFF ASSURED ALP THAT THE USG, BY RAISING GREEK REINTEGRATION IN THE MEETING WITH ECEVIT AND OKCUN, WAS NOT SEEKING A BLANKET GOT COMMITMENT ON THE CONDITIONS OF GREEK RE-ENTRY, BUT RATHER WAS SEEKING A SHARED APPRECIATION OF THE DESIRABILITY OF FACILITATING REINTEGRATION AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME. EMBOFF NOTED THAT QUESTIONS REGARDING GREEK RE-ENTRY INTO NATO HAD COME UP IN CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY AND THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION WAS TAKING A POSITIVE AND FORWARD-LOOKING APPROACH ON GREEK REINTEGRATION. ALP SAID THAT THE GOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS ATTEMPTING TO ASSURE CONGRESS AND THE U.S. PUBLIC THAT THE GREEKS WOULD RE-ENTER THE ALLIANCE MILITARY STRUCTURE AFTER THE TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO IS LIFTED. MOREOVER, ALP CONTINUED, THE GOT WAS SEEKING TO COOPERATE IN COOLING OFF GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES REGARDING GREEK RE-ENTRY BY NOT MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT. ALP NOTED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT TURKISH GENERAL STAFF (TGS) CHIEF GENERAL EVREN MADE ONLY A LOW-KEY AND NON-CONTENTIOUS STATEMENT AT THE LANDSOUTHEAST COMMAND CHANGE CEREMONY ON JUNE 30 AND DID NOT REFER TO PROBLEMS RELATING TO GREEK REINTEGRATION. IN CONTRAST, ALP POINTED OUT, THE GREEK PRESS WAS "FULL OF SPECULATION" CONCERNING THE NEW NATO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS AND SACEUR'S DISCUSSIONS WITH GENERAL DAVIS.

3. ALP CONTINUED THAT THE GOT'S VIEWS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES INVOLVED IN GREEK REINTEGRATION HAVE BEEN FULLY EXPRESSED
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IN NATO, AND TURKEY EXPECTS THAT THE CONSULTATION AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AGREED TO (I.E., OPEN-ENDED GROUP DELIBERATIONS, FOLLOWED BY DPC AND NAC CONSULTATIONS) MUST BE MAINTAINED. SPECIFICALLY, THE GOT WAS CONCERNED THAT SACEUR MAY HAVE ENGAGED IN "UNAUTHORIZED NEGOTIATIONS/ WITH GENERAL DAVOS AND POSSIBLY MADE COMMITMENTS TO THE GREEKS WITHOUT APPROVAL OF NATO POLITICAL BODIES. WHEN EMBOFF SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THIS TO BE THE CASE, ALP SAID (CITING HIS OWN EXPERIENCE AS TURKISH DEPUTY PERMREP) THAT TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES WOULD STRENUOUSLY INSIST THAT THE FORMALITIES OF CONSULTATIONS IN THE OEG AND IN OTHER BODIES ARE OBSERVED.

4. PROCEEDING TO A DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, ALP WAS PESSIMISTIC THAT EARLY AGREEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED ON NATO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH, HE POINTED OUT, ULTIMATELY DEPEND ON GREEK-TURKISH AGREEMENT ON AEGEAN AIR AND SEA BOUNDARIES. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE AGREED IN ISOLATION FROM OTHER ISSUES THAT HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED BY THE OEG; RATHER, AN ACCEPTABLE "PACKAGE" EMBRACING ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES WOULD HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED. THE TERMS OF GREEK REINTEGRATION, HE SAID, COULD NOT BE RESOLVED BY RETURNING TO THE STATUS QUO BEFORE 1974 BECAUSE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE GREEK AND TURKISH POSITIONS ON COMMAND

ARRANGEMENTS, TO NAME BUT ONE SUBJECT, EXISTED BEFORE THAT TIME.

5. ASKED ABOUT POSSIBLE INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS PENDING A GREEK-TURKISH SETTLEMENT OF AEGEAN PROBLEMS, ALP SAID HE STRONGLY DOUBTED WHETHER THERE WAS ROOM FOR COMPROMISE "BECAUSE THE GREEKS USED NATO DECISIONS TO SUPPORT THEIR JURIDICAL CLAIMS IN THE AEGEAN." IN THIS CONNECTION, ALP RECALLED THAT THE TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SAID IN NATO FORA THAT GREEK REINTEGRATION WOULD DEPEND PRIMARILY ON TWO FACTORS: REPEAL OF THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AND DEMILITARIZATION OF THE GREEK ISLANDS OFF THE TURKISH MAINLAND. HE CONTINUED THAT, EVEN IF THE EMBARGO WERE LIFTED, AN "UNNATURAL STATE OF AFFAIRS" WOULD STILL EXIST BECAUSE THE GREEKS HAVE FORTIFIED THE AEGEAN ISLANDS AGAINST A NATO ALLY. NEVERTHELESS, ALP EVINCED SOME OPTIMISM THAT A "PACKAGE" COULD BE WORKED OUT IN FUTURE
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GREEK-TURK BILATERAL MEETINGS, SUCH AS THE JULY 4-5 MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTRY SECRETARIES-GENERAL, THAT WOULD INCLUDE A VARIANT OF THE GREEK NON-AGGRESSION PROPOSAL, DEMILITARIZATION OF THE AEGEAN ISLANDS, AND SOME PROGRESS ON THE ATHENS FIR AND AEGEAN TERRITORIAL WATERS PROBLEMS. AT ANY RATE, ALP DID NOT FORESEE SUCH AGREEMENT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND SAID THAT "MUCH MORE DISCUSSION" OF NATO-RELATED PROBLEMS IS NEEDED IN BRUSSELS.

6. FINALLY, ALP ASKED THAT WE CONVEY THE FOREGOING TO WASHINGTON WITH THE COMMENT THAT THERE IS NO "QUICK AND SIMPLE" SOLUTION TO EITHER THE GREEK REINTEGRATION PROBLEM OR TO GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES OVER THE AEGEAN.

SPIERS

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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